1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14 ●
Zagori
Greece EH1

friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

families live for the last few days on vegetable soup, beans, and coffee. For this week, at least, the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy must be suppressed. The community becomes continent and unrelated men behave towards one another with unaccustomed warmth and goodwill. A man must truly repent his personal sins. Whenever a confessor is within reach, he ought to make a confession of his sins before taking communion. He must approach God with a 'good heart'. In these ways a man to a degree, loosens the hold which material things and the senses hold over him and, in some measure, is purified so that he may receive into himself the divine element. The Sarakatsanos believes that if he is properly prepared ritually and spiritually to receive the sacrament, then his sins are forgiven. The wine he drinks is indeed the blood of Christ (the body is seldom mentioned) and it is considered a sin if any man suffers a fit of vomiting in the 40 days which immediately follow communion. It is also described as a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. Thus the wine is at one and the same time a symbol of the first sacrifice and a material substance in which divine energy exists. It represents, and it is, the blood of Christ.

4. SOCIAL VALUES AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

At the risk of some repetition, the problem of the opposition of two systems of values, one social the other religious, has yet to be explicitly considered. This community of Sarakatsani, whose coherent and distinctive traditions suggest, in the absence of any certain historical proofs, that it may have existed since, at least, the late Byzantine period, possesses a body of social values based upon a number of simple and unambiguous concepts of honour, strength, prestige and pride. And in the previous chapter I have emphasized the exclusive and particularist form of these social ideals. Yet throughout this period the community has belonged to an Orthodox Christian civilization. Allowing for its primitive material culture and geographical isolation, it has clearly been profoundly influenced by this wider membership as, for instance, even a cursory examination of Sarakatsan wood-carving immediately suggests. Although it is true that the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Orthodox Church, as an institution, has been sufficiently tenuous to result in a popular religious life that is a gross

/ix cont./

121 cannot do without knowing what it is. That is the prime motive of the sciences of humankind and it amply justifies their existence.

To study in detail the situation of a category of human beings who are in the process of disappearing can serve the noble purpose of helping them in their distress, of inducing society to help them survive or die more tranquilly. This is a pious illusion, for social 121 progress wipes out cultures without shedding the blood of individuals: 177 one generation will perchance regret, the second will adapt itself, the 198 third has forgotten. Better cared for, better fed, better housed, the grandchildren of the last Sarakatsani shepherds, having become good servants of modern economy, will feed their imagination, like everybody else, on the pastoral adventures of a fictitious people, the cowboys of the Far West, the universal symbol of freedom in herding. Unless folklore is born from the ashes of Greek pastoral life, and unless in a century, thanks to this book, the adventures of the wild Thessalian nomads will be restored to the descendants of shepherds. In any case, we come back to the fact that humanity will have maintained its indispensable image of itself.

121 One could conceive of a third angle of vision, from which, assuming the principle that diversity of methods of production could lead to an economy less reckless in its consumption, one could imagine a veritable transposition from the archaic pastoral nomad to a modern pastoral nomad. It is here that an in-depth study without an apparent practical aim could, in the future, actually serve a /x/ concrete purpose. Every society that endures in a certain way of life performs an experiment the evidence of which cannot be useless. The general laws of equilibrium of human groups have been scarcely glimpsed. The subtle interplay of technical, economic, social, religious, esthetic values gives the feeling of actually being an individual within a community, hence of a truly significant unit. This interplay is discerned by sociologists, but its rules are only on the verge of being analyzed. To reason coldly, it matters very little whether an economy of a type

361 /24 cont./
233 to the general technology of sheep herders and not to space.

233 It remains for us to speak of the pastures and of dispositions relating, in a general way, to the feeding of the animals. The examination of this problem will be part of the study of the technology of herding.

***

621 The social incidence of all the phenomena described is very
[163] important. The high birth rate and longevity contribute to the
[165] creation of large families and long lineages. There follows from this a question of organization and economic expectations. For the
[888] same reasons, the category of "the aged" becomes large. The situation and social condition of this class, whose presence necessarily complicates social differentiation, constitutes a separate question.

621 The /seasonal/ migrations cause variations of intensity in
233 Sarakatsani social life. The summer encampment, divided in two as
221 we have seen, brings about a separation of active men from women. The first occupy themselves exclusively with herding following the flocks. The second remain in the encampment. On the other hand, during the winter, men and women live together. Thus, the large festivals, the
[796] celebration of marriages, the collective performance of certain rites
[585] of a magico-religious order take place only within the framework of the winter set-up, never during the summer. The calendar that prescribes all these activities and is established on the basis of the socio-economic occupations of this people, and therefore in accordance with the times when the participation of all proves possible. (18)

18. See below, the chapters devoted to magic and religion.

233 Finally, the displacements also involve contacts with the
361 surrounding society through which the Sarakatsani pass; a certain
177 number of measures and arrangements assure the successful outcome of the encounter.

415 /38/
234 /38/ A cask large enough to permit the storage of up to 100
251 kilograms of cheese, and finally, a tub in which butter is kept (fig.22).

415 The staves of these large and small tubs, and the buckets are
824 very often adjusted and held in place by means of hoops formed from flexible branches of fir from which the needles have previously been
[177] removed. However, this technique is of recent introduction among the
[322] Sarakatsani. Formerly, they /the tubs/ were carved out of solid wood.

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

283
824
→

/45 cont./

233

Fig. 33 Fig. 34

The second /object/ consists of a very long shaft (approximately two meters) ending in a very curved handle. The latter serves to catch by a hind leg the animals that try to move away from the flock. The curve of the handle is calculated in such a way that a foot goes through it easily but with a tight fit. Thus this curve varies according to the kind of animal. It is wider for goats and narrower for ewes. The [826] [804] Sarakatsani use the second joint of the thumb to measure it. It seems that the thickness of this joint corresponds to the size of the feet of the ewes (fig. 34).

236 /46/ Crafts dependent on wool.

Wool is the raw material which the Sarakatsani use almost exclusively to make their clothing, their covers and rugs. Cotton [177] has been introduced only recently among them in the form of thread which they buy commercially.

/72 cont./

342 --as stable for the mules,
343 --as a place to milk the ewes,
--as a shelter for the shepherds.

"The shape of these latter huts justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani are in fact acquainted with but a single hut: the round hut which can be elongated," Madame Hadjimichali maintains, in substance. (17)

17. Ibid., A. II, p. 175.

342 As a matter of fact, this statement which raises a question of
114 a technological order seems at first acceptable. Does not the elongated
178 shape of the round hut constitute a stage in the direction of the rectangular hut which is to all appearances only a further improvement on that form? And if one replies in the affirmative, would not this reply be corroborated by the fact that the civilization of the Sarakatsani insofar as it is a rural and very traditional civilization, must present a certain uniformity in its technical expression?

Now, it seems to us that appearances are not sufficiently convincing for us to agree with this opinion. For, there is such a [341] difference between the technical conceptions underlying the hut with a vaulted framework and the rectangular hut with a framework of forks, that the idea maintained above no longer holds.

The improvement of what already exists, from the same components [177] is one thing; but a transformation, a complete change of the process [341] of construction, hence a total change of conception (replacing arches with regular walls and a roof) presupposes invention of technological borrowing, if not acculturation.

Between the elongated round hut and the rectangular hut the distance is such that no continuity can be established. In any case, the issue remains open, pending additional information.

343 <u>The outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling</u>
417 In addition to the variations we have described and which serve

/108 cont./

291 ornaments of the women (clasps, chains, etc.), as well as the cotton
439 fabrics for the "foustanella," for the shirt or for underclothing are bought commercially.

294 Finally, the services of the tailor also come from the outside; an
445 itinerant tailor is called upon to make the "foustanella" and vests
177 of every sort.'

294 The Sarakatsani make only their other clothing themselves.

513 Blankets and rugs
352 The description of blankets and rugs was given in connection with the study of their manufacture.

As far as their use is concerned, it should be pointed out that while the "tsolia" and the "fouskotto" are always used as rugs, the blankets have the double role of covering human beings while they are asleep and making them comfortable on the floor of the hut. A double use which, however, does not take away from their character as blankets for their second use is merely complementary. However, the "karamelotti" blankets (fig. 40)A are never used as rugs.

513 One other point remains to be stated: the Sarakatsani are not even acquainted with sheets and mattresses. On the other hand, cushions and pillows are widely used.

Food-Drink-Heat and Light

262 Food.

If we wish to classify in a hierarchical order the basic products that enter into the food of the Sarakatsani we should mention first milk and dairy products, then maize and wheat flour, then edible grasses, vegetables, olive oil and last of all meat.

[439] All these subsistence goods are directly at the disposal of the Sarakatsani except flour, oil and vegetables for which he must turn to the economy of surrounding society on which he depends to this extent.

[251] /109/ Moreover, dairy products (cheese, butter), wheat and maize,

A, /Fig.40 appears on p.66--Analyst/

/120 cont./

121 could only partially be accomplished, chiefly because these herders make each object they need only once. Thus the observer can follow the making of the latter only occasionally. As a result, there is a gap here, which is all the more regrettable since it does not permit the establishment of the links existing between the chain of procedures in question and the corresponding nucleus in society--a significant aspect of the life of every traditional society.

105 182 Nevertheless, some positive and general findings should be formulated:

177 To begin with, all the technology described which deals with crafts, clothing or food, etc., is southeast European or Eurasian technology. The geographical position of the Hellenic Peninsula, as well as the stages of its history, its contacts over the centuries with the Mediterranean world, on the one hand, and the Asiatic peoples on the other, justify this identification.

105 182 Then, the most salient characteristic of all the technology is their great simplicity. All the crafts analyzed can be practiced by anyone at all, and demand only a minimum of knowledge, experience and skill.

The same holds true for the raw materials and the necessary tools.

105 182 177 [176] To this characteristic another should be added, namely the traditional character of this technology, in the sense that innovations practically never occur. Our own experience taught us that each time we were able to observe variations of technology in the different groups we studied, they were a phenomenon of acculturation. The changes took place through the adoption of models coming from the outside. Of course, the integration of new elements was always accompanied by some adaptation or reinterpretation. (27)

27. On the idea of reinterpretation see: M. J. Herskovits: Les bases de l'anthropologie, p. 259f., as well as the commentaries of R. Bastide: Religions africanes. p. 17.

/120 cont./

105 182 177 This is the case, for example, with the cradle, the "sofras" or the stool. It is also the case with clay-coated huts covered with lime (fig. 44), A which insures better temperature control inside; for one finds this improvement above all in the rectangular huts of the Sarakatsani /121/ who are already oriented toward sedentary life and tend thus to imitate the village cottages. We really see by this example that changes in the way of living, even if they create new needs, have not revealed the inventive spirit of the Sarakatsani, provided one exists.

105 401 182 Also astonishing among them is the lack of use of a continuous circular movement. The Sarakatsani are acquainted with the wheel from peasant civilization. But they do not apply it in the form, for example, of the spinning wheel or the drill, although the use of these tools, the transport of which would not pose any special problem, would greatly facilitate their work with wood and wool.

105 182 511 Moreover, the needs to which these crafts correspond are elementary needs of man: food, protection from the cold, a minimum of necessary comfort. Nothing is made which could be considered an element of luxury or meant for sale or barter.

All this does not constitute a reality imposed by the nomadic condition alone. There are nomadic peoples who are acquainted with luxury, at least in the ostentation of the tent or in the life of their [171] chief. Even the Koutsovalaques of Greece, those other than the Sarakatsani. The latter submit to the norms of austerity and material simplicity to such an extent that they may be considered rustics (28) in the highest degree.

28. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: L'homme et la matière, p. 41.

105 182 However, it would be unjust not to add that, along with their simplicity, the technology analyzed shows a very great efficiency which permits the Sarakatsani to succeed in a short time in meeting effectively all their needs on the basis of simple means and almost crude materials.

A, /Fig.44 appears on p.70--Analyst/

/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(178) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Saracatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

177 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

(233) --The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept
(464) work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of members in relation to the size of its flock.

(875) --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

(796) --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

(256) --The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are
(286) occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or mandani.

(656) --The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

311 /162 cont./
233 Finally, the Sarakatsani must locate pastures required for the needs of their flocks, inasmuch as they are unacquainted with landed property.

439 However, the process of carrying out the transactions enumerated
432 presents certain peculiarities which should be mentioned. The sale of
474 Sarakatsani products is always carried out on the spot. The merchant-buyers arrive at the konakia and buy up the entire annual production of milk, meat and wool. The buyer of milk installs on the spot and for the entire productive season a cheese dairy which is clearly distinguishable from the other buildings, for it is built of solid materials and is run by non-Sarakatsani personnel who turn the milk as it is supplied into cheese.

596 During all the stages involved in these activities, the /163/
551 Sarakatsani are represented by their head. It is always the head who
439 takes care of the sales, the services and the location of the pastures,
177 as well as of all contacts with various authorities, and who personally
474 betakes himself to the nearest towns and villages. Thus the majority of shepherds and other members of the family and, therefore, of the Tséligato, may pass all their lives without having major contacts with the outside, so that the risks of acculturation and change are reduced to a minimum.

596 Having said this, let us come back to the other responsibilities of
474 the head. To him falls the duty of stocking supplies for consumption in
554 the small huts built for this purpose. When his subjects have need of
434 something (food, fabrics, footgear, medicines, etc.) they must apply to him. However, in practice he does not await their requests in order to supply them. It is even humiliating for him to receive such requests. For, "to show that he is head" means also to distribute goods by foreseeing the needs of each one.

(454) If a transaction leaves monetary surpluses it is always the head
(436) who invests them in livestock, buying ewes and she-goats, preferably "for relatives." The money, the instrument of wealth and prestige, must

596 /163 cont./
474 not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances
554 that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.
434
[436]
[581] Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal
594 family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management
554 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning
474 that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the
177 head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

[861] The education of the children is also carried out collectively. They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a
[872] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading
[875] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.
[562]

* * * *

596 The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the
594 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show
[561] respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the
594 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline
613 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in
554 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

/175 cont./
233 427 571 details, the role of clients of the family and of the Roman latifunda. (54)

54. See J. Declareuil: Ibid., p. 150.

233 426 199 Providing funds for small herders. In case of need, the small herder whose income did not permit savings, had no recourse but the peasant usurer--a solution that was actually a vicious circle from which, once having entered it, he found it impossible to escape.

233 484 426 596 By contrast, the Tséligato, having the possibility of providing funds to its members without demanding interest, represented the only rational solution for the indigent.

596 494 496 233 424 /176/ The labor requirements of large herders. When the extended family does not have sufficient man-power to maintain the livestock which, under favorable conditions, increases constantly, it joins with other herders who have smaller flocks and can put at its disposal their supplementary work potential.

233 199 [212] The need to maintain relations with the outside world, that is to say, with the surrounding society. The simple shepherds are not in a position to fulfill this function for two reasons. First, their very engrossing work demands their uninterrupted presence close to their flocks. In the second place, they are not prepared for it, for they are generally illiterate and devoid of all social experience.

596 199 554 494 On the other hand, the extended and wealthy families are able to prepare one of their members for the demands of the indispensable socio-economic contacts with non-Sarakatsani, and give them the necessary education to succeed in this delicate task, the substance of which has been described in connection with the function of the head-manager and of which we shall speak again a little farther on.

596 494 [233] The necessity of defending themselves and of cooperating in the economic utilization of the livestock. Though the extended family already provides an answer to this problem through blood ties and kinship (affinal and fictive) and through its functions, the Tséligato creates

/184 cont./

619 186 [474] Sarakatsani society does not have any organized apparatus. One does not find in it any social hierarchy of Tséligatos, the latter being set apart merely by their size (hierarchy of prestige). Obviously, one cannot speak of an over-all structure of Sarakatsani society which, moreover, cannot be structured. From this point of view it resembles much more a form of group identity, a "we, the Sarakatsani," than a society strictly speaking. If one accepts this qualification one must also accept /the fact/ that it is a passive rather than an active "we," therefore it is not functional, or very slightly so.

619 474 596 Compared with the Tséligato and the extended family, Sarakatsani society as such takes on few functions. The latter are practically limited to providing the Tséligatos with the necessary participants and demanding of the Sarakatsani a behavior conforming to the accepted norms--as we have seen.

[128] Thus in all, or almost all, cases in the following analysis in which we speak of Sarakatsani society we will be referring to the most representative social groups, the extended family and the Tséligato.

* * * *

199 The surrounding society is, as a rule, Hellenic society. If we say "as a rule," it is because the Sarakatsani, being nomadic, often pass through areas inhabited by Greeks in order to reach adjacent lands.

On the other hand, Hellenic society itself has experienced profound changes throughout the ages--invasions, /185/ occupations, etc. Outsiders have become involved in it, with serious consequences resulting on all levels of life.

We must take into account these changes, having admitted at the outset the importance of the historical dimension of the phenomena we observe. We shall not dwell on this point, however since we shall treat it in detail in the chapter on law, to which we are purposely referring.

However, the term "surrounding society" always designates in our

/185 cont./

177 analysis the broader social environments, whatever their concrete forms, into which the Sarakatsani find themselves cast at a given moment.

The relations of Sarakatsani society with surrounding society are manifold. They vary according to the nature of the latter and according to circumstances. On the national level, the Sarakatsani are integrated with other Greeks, therefore absolutely opposed to every element foreign to Hellenism. On the cultural level, there are affinities between Sarakatsani and Hellenic cultures. As for the organizational apparatus of surrounding society, namely its administration, the Sarakatsani submit to it whenever they cannot avoid it. On the economic level, finally, their transactions with the outside are limited to the few which we have already discussed.

In this respect the ruling principle of Sarakatsani life is isolation. The effects of this in practice manifest themselves on several levels which we shall not fail to emphasize.

Remarks on the Interrelations Between the Social Units of Sarakatsani Life

Some systematic remarks on the interrelations among the social units of Sarakatsani life are necessary before we conclude this chapter.

Placing ourselves in the perspective outlined by Durkheim, (57)

57. See La famille conjugale, p. 7.

we may say that the extended family embraces two zones: the narrower one, represented by the /186/ conjugal family, and the other, broader, consisting of the extended family.

The Tséligato includes several of them: one, the broadest of all, which coincides with itself; another made up of the extended families; a third in which are found the independent conjugal families, that are integrated in the Tséligatos; finally, and on occasion, a fourth represented by shepherds who join it on an individual basis.

Sarakatsani society commands a zone less defined than those of the

/186 cont./
619 Tséligatos and the families and therefore fluctuating, which is
474 represented by itself. /It includes as well/ A second, embracing
596 all the Tséligatos; a third /embracing/ the extended families; a fourth,
594 the conjugal families, and a fifth, the independent shepherds.

177 Surrounding society, finally, encompasses, on the one hand, the
619 non-Sarakatsani zone which is its own, and, on the other hand, the zone of Sarakatsani society which is divided into the zones already enumerated.

619 This arrangement into zones of the components in question leads
182 us to the dynamic aspect of their interrelations. In fact, the zones
184 we have distinguished are neither turned in upon themselves and isolated from the others in water-tight compartments, nor always internally homogeneous, since their compositionn varies. As a result, multiple relationships of every sort, oriented in all directions can be observed among the units, the zones and the components of the latter--relationships that end up by weaving an inextricable web linking together or setting up opposites between a whole and a whole, the components among themselves, the components and their units, the units among themselves, creating, moreover passages from one unit to the other, from one zone to the other or to the components of another, and so on.

However, these relationships may be grouped into certain categories according to their nature. One may distinguish direct, indirect, or mediated relationships; others based on equality or subordination; still others based on cooperation, of opposition or of domination. Of course, each specific relationship may be differently qualified depending on the angle from which it is observed, in other words, according to the frame of reference that one adopts.

619 Thus, the conjugal family has direct relations with the extended
182 family, the latter with the Tséligato, the three with Sarakatsani society.
184 The conjugal family within the extended family has mediated relations with
596 the Tséligato through the intermediary of the extended family. The
594
474

/186 cont./
619 182 184 596 594 474 [613] existence of the /187/ Tséligas mediates negotiation with the outside. The families cooperate among themselves but are subordinated when one proceeds from the conjugal to the extended family (in the same lineage), and from these two to the Tséligato. The Tséligato has sovereignty over the families comprising it, but identifies itself with the central core family. The families of elders predominate over those made up of the young. The Tséligatos and the families are in opposition to surrounding society or cooperate with it, depending on circumstances. [179] However, most frequently, there is opposition between Sarakatsani society and surrounding society. Depending on the situation, the Tséligatos may compete or cooperate, and so on.

619 182 184 On the basis of these few examples corresponding merely to certain possible relationships between affiliated components one may envisage the very considerable role that the relationships in question can play towards the structuralization, the continuance and the safeguarding of the originality of Sarakatsani society and life in general.

[128] However, in view or the fact that the study of this problem presupposes an analysis of certain aspects on which we have not yet touched, we shall consider what has gone before as brief groundwork, while reserving the full treatment for our final chapter.

/188/ /blank/

/189/

CHAPTER II

Social Organization and Economic System

619 596 594 474 If we accept the fact that the organization of a social group consists of a previously established totality of lasting arrangements functioning toward definite ends and limited in practice by specified individuals who are given prerogatives and entrusted with responsibilities inherent in their mission, we must concede at the same time that four of the social units of Sarakatsani life are organized groups.

The conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato and surrounding society have an organization the existence of which cannot

619 /189 cont./
596 be denied. On the other hand, Sarakatsani society does not have such
594 an organization.
474

596 As far as the families are concerned, their organization is to be
594 found in the power of the father-head-manager or the head-manager in his responsibilities, in the functions, rights and obligations of the family members, in the hierarchy of sub-groups their functions, etc.

[474] As for the Tséligato, its organization consists of agreements made
[675] between the participants; it is completed by that of the central family.

[177] The administrative apparatus of surrounding society, finally, constitutes the organization of this society.

[474] The relations between these different organizations reflect the
[182] relationship between the corresponding units.

In all these instances one may note the constraint that the organi-
596 zation exerts on the corresponding group, as well as the constraint that
594 one organization exerts on another, at least in part, starting with that
182 of the surrounding society upon the Tséligato and the extended families,
177 and that of the extended family upon the conjugal family.
474

[571] This interplay is derived from conditions and regulations applicable to individuals or groups /190/ permanently established from which a person cannot stand apart with impunity and which dictate and inspire roles and conduct of individuals and groups.

The effect of the existence of organization among the purely Sarakatsani groups are very important. They are felt in connection with the efficient fulfillment of social or economic functions. If the Tséligato succeeds, as we have noted, in making its members cooperate whenever a family by itself would fail, this is due precisely to its organization. And if the extended family may be assured of smooth interior functioning despite the number, nature and oppostitions of its individual or group componenet, this is in large part due to its organization.

436 /192 cont./
437 participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the
474 other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with
58 the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).
[489]
[171] Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the
436 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to
474 handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide funds to his subjects if necessary.

433 In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani
476 economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-
[571] professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition.
[421] Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

438 Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani
439 economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities
462 connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men
434 only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption" the activity is confined to the women.

462 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule.
433 The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry;
562 they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing. The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men.
462 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a pro-
342 ductive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes
433
562

/192 cont./

462 342 433 562 closer to consumption than production. Moreover, the very method of construction, the interlacing of branches and flexible material, is almost the same as that of weaving. It is in any case more nearly related. The specialization of the women in the latter /193/ is a consequence of their skill in the former. The principle involved is therefore uniformly applied.

462 562 433 That is not all. All the activities and techniques entrusted to the women presuppose activity on the part of the men. For they are the ones who furnish the raw materials and manufacture the necessary tools and utensils--wool, cotton, dyes, loom, carding machine, or even flour, oil, cooking pots, knives, etc. The techo-economic competence of the women constitutes a sort of second stage in the techno-economic process in general, in which the group of men retain the intitiative and control.

462 562 Sarakatsani society decrees that, in this domain as in so many others, the man, must keep for himself the role of absolute master.

/194/ /blank/

/195/

CHAPTER III

LAW IN SARAKATSANI SOCIETY

GENERAL ASPECTS

671 199 The legal system of the Sarakatsani is dominated by a dualism. This statement means that this society uses two bodies of rules of a legal order.

The one, which is its own work, is Sarakatsani law strictly speaking.

The other comes from the Hellenic society that surrounds them. Since, as we have seen, our herders are not merely Sarakatsani, but also Greek, it is natural that Hellenic law also concerns them.

This dualism basically reflects the relations of a sociological order that exist between Sarakatsani society and non-Sarakatsani society, both included in the total society of the Hellenic Nation.

S /198 cont./

671 But at that time the liberation of Greece was only partial, the
175 Greco-Turkish frontier being in Thessaly. The introduction of this law
177 of the Hellenic State throughout the entire country was therefore
G gradual and followed the rhythm of the liberation of the different
671 regions of the north (Thessaly in 1881, Macedonia and Epirus in 1912,
175 Thrace in 1920), as was its penetration into Sarakatsani life, since the geographic center of the migrations of these nomads was in the northern provinces.

S Finally, in 1946, the Civil Code of modern Greece was put into effect.
671 This code no longer recognized the customary law which thereafter was not
177 valid in the eyes of the courts and the administration of the country.
G But to make up for it, this same code recognized the principle of Roman
671 law pacta sunt servanda. It is therefore obvious that if certain rules of customary law are explicitly included in all kinds of agreements they may be recognized by the courts as valid insofar, of course, as the clauses based on these rules do not run counter to the law strictly speaking.

Here we have a concrete picture, very complex to be sure, of what we designated at the beginning of this section as "Hellenic law issuing from the society surrounding the Sarakatsani."

S
[128] We should therefore now go on to the study of the influence which this law exerted, over time, on the social life and the law of our herders.

* * * *

S During the first period, that is to say during the Turkish occupation,
671 the Sarakatsani, sheltered and isolated in the mountains, remained
177 relatively safe, so to speak, from the legal complex of the period.
[175] /199/ Turkish public law could but rarely affect it, chiefly because of the inefficiency of the Turkish administration which had nothing in common with the organization of modern states.

Moreover, resorting to the law of the conqueror in questions of a private nature is almost unthinkable for the Sarakatsani. His unsubju-
S gated and resistance-like behavior rules out such an eventuality. Besides,
[688]

/199 cont./

671 the Church is always there to excommunicate a traitor.
177
[688] Thus we can say that Turkish law, public or private, exerted only a very relative influence on our herders.

671 Public law of privileged communities does not concern the Sarakatsani,
627 for they have never been part of these. When commercial or simple
692 economic transactions cause differences they can be solved by recourse to arbiters.

As we shall see, the Sarakatsani very much prefer, above all others, this type of legal process which goes back to a very distant past. (5)

[113] 5. See J. Walter Jones: The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks /cited in English/, pp. 130-133, citing also Harell: Public Arbitration in Athenian Law /cited in English/, pp. 1-42.

671 If, in spite of all, they are obliged to apply to local Hellenic
199 justice, customs remain valid before the latter. Sarakatsani customs, too, can thus be enforced.

Now it is certain that the Sarakatsani need comply only occasionally with local laws. If one remembers, in particular, that the disagreements brought about by transactions with the outside appear only rarely, that the sector "trade" covers only a very small part of Sarakatsani economic life, and finally that this sector touches only very superficially their social life in general, one will understand that even in cases where the law, either ecclesiastical or local, ultimately intervenes, this intervention cannot cause any important repercussions in the social sphere.

671 It follows therefore that Sarakatsani law as such has had every
[198] opportunity to develop and above all to develop autonomously during this period.

This in only a negative aspect result of the way external law functions. But there is more, and it is suitable to throw light on the positive results as well.

G
671 /200/

/200/ As a matter of fact, the law that developed during the Turkish occupation in the local communities is a law of cooperation whereas Byzantine law, inspired by Roman law, is dominated by individualism. The Greeks of this period grouped themselves with all kinds of associations (economic, religious, political and, though this may seem strange under an occupation, even military). (6)

6. N. Pantazopoulos: «Ἑλλήνων συσσωματώσεις» with a copious bibliography.

Local law was adapted to the needs of this collective organization of life.
S
671 It should therefore not be astonishing that Sarakatsani law, which also
177 favors cooperation, should have been inspired by the model of external law, and that it should have been formed on the basis of the same principles, despite its own peculiarities. However, this is merely a hypothesis,
S
[174] absolute verification of which is impossible at the moment for lack of
[114] data.

G
671 Let us go on now to the examination of this same problem but within
175 the framework of the second period:

S
[671] When the Hellenic kingdom was established the public law of the new
[177] state, though valid for and applicable to all Greeks and hence also to the Sarakatsani did not have much opportunity to interfere in their lives.

G
648 The occupation and the war of independence left the country completely
729 disorganized and devoid of any framework and any public service. It took many years before services were created, before archives and registers were set up dealing with the population - even the sedentary population. One can imagine the difficulties administrative mechanism of the state.

G
641 It is only very recently, in 1938, as we have seen, that they have all submitted in practice to civic life, to the obligation of military service, to taxes, etc.

G
671 Between these two date (1835-1938) the influence of public law on their lives, very minor in the beginning and very strong toward the end,

/200 cont./

has developed gradually and in step with the organization of the administration.

However, the actual and practical introduction of public law among the /201/ Sarakatsani was disastrous to their way of life. The obligatory contacts with the sedentary population (army, dependence on villages), participation in political activity (elections, participation in local administration), the social policy of the State (integration of the Sarakatsani into agricultural cooperatives, concession of building sites, etc.), the legal control of their lives (application of the penal law, application of rules of public order), etc., have created conditions altogether unfavorable to their culture. Moreover, to the extent that our herders became legally villagers and found themselves involved in relationships and situations to which public law was applicable, they were obliged to conform to it and to adopt arrangements issuing from official private law.

Now the latter was also disastrous for Sarakatsani life, because it was promulgated, not in terms of their kind of life or of other kinds of traditional life that existed in the country, but according to principles of legal science formulated by lawyers, hence by technicians, who more often preferred faultless scientific constructions to what popular opinio necessitatis had developed in the course of centuries.

In this leveling and colorless juridical ambience Sarakatsani law has no chance to survive. Thus, the legal dualism of which we spoke at the beginning is yielding little by little to a monism, that of official law, public as well as private.

The day when this monism will be generally imposed is not far off. And that very day will sound the knell of the Sarakatsani, as such, since that law is deeply grafted to social reality.

* * * *

/208 cont./

474 675 671 initiative, which nonetheless develops in the context of Sarakatsani society and its cultural system.

The agents of ajudication, of sanction and coercion.

578 691 The elements of the problem: daily life and therefore all the questions relating to marriage, kinship and the functioning of the family, as well as the removal of the head, the checking of accounts of the family management and of the Tséligato, claims and quarrels between members and the Tséligas, the settling of various questions pertaining to guardianship, the division of an inheritance and so forth, create and represent numerous cases in which conflicts and litigations may arise.

578 627 692 691 Now all these questions must be solved one way or another. Though the agents of ajudication are multiple they are not always obvious. The same is true for the agents of sanction and coercion who are very often identical with the former.

In our effort to determine them we note first of all that the only official, hence visible tribunal that the Sarakatsani are acquainted with is that of arbiters.

[648] [199] Of course, an appeal to the official law of the surrounding society is always possible, but the Sarakatsani do not have recourse to it. (20)

20. This appeal would constitute a violation of the principle of isolation from the surrounding society, of which the Sarakatsani are very jealous.

691 692 627 [602] If the litigation concerns family questions and disagreements between members of the same family, the arbiters are recruited by the parties concerned from among the oldest relatives (uncles, for example).

[474] If the dispute is between strangers (members of the Tséligato and the head, for example), each of the parties proposes as arbiter one or two Tséligas.

The sentence, always binding and without appeal, from the viewpoint is formulated and pronounced according to what is good and fair to

/253 cont./

121 different practices into a coherent system, we see that from the moon
842 to the snake, from the snake to the earth, from the fire to the moon,
821 there is a continuity, if not apparent and logical, certainly symbolic
825 since all these forces are merely variants or avatars of the belief in
823 the great creative force which dominates the world and which is person-
776 ified in the Great Goddess, the Mother-Goddess. (17)

[191] 17. On the evolution of the cult of the Mother-Goddess and her avatars from the Minoan epoch to the imposition of Christianity we refer to the works already mentioned and full of information by E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 143, 144, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 264, 165, 166, 167, 168, and J. Przyluski: Ibid., pp. 87, 134, 135, 144.

842 However, it would be erroneous to assume that the Sarakatsani when
776 they seek to influence fertility through the medium of symbols stemming
771 from the belief in the Great Goddess, also worship the latter and can therefore be considered followers of a religion other than Christianity.
771 It is necessary to see here another phenomenon, well known elsewhere, (18)
177 18. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse /Religious
178 /Sociology/ p. 16.

which occurs when one religion replaces another. While yielding to the new, the ancient religious practices continue to exist, but henceforth become integrated in the magic practices, and are considered as such while simultaneously entering into a certain syncretism which permits them to survive, the /254/ officially religious ideas hallowing the officially profane ideas which would otherwise be intolerable. (19)

[171] 19. In political law as well as in canon law of Byzantium one finds countless rules forbidding the practices deriving from religions that were ancient and described as magic, as for example: Codex Theodocianus, 9, 16, 2.--Codex Justinianus, 9, 18, 4.--

Βασιλικά, Α' 60, 38, 6 et 5, etc. — ΒΑΛΣΑΜΩΝ : Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν Δικαιώμα συλλογαί, in : M. P. G., 138, 1 949, etc.

/254 cont./

In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
796 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[191] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[529] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
198

789 Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/330 cont./

796 128 the ideas implied in the celebration of these festivals.

Observation shows that the postulates and procedures that make 796 possible the magic action, as well as the guiding ideas of their 789 application are present in the celebration of the festivals we have 182 studied. We find here transmissibility, the blessing of the objects contained in the bag of Maundy Thursday and consequently the blessing of production; the opposition of forces (wax candles, salt, incense blessed, which averts evil); purification (sprinkling), representation (the ritual of Saint Lazarus). However, we cannot find here the postulate that forces will not destroy themselves, nor removal, since the religious forces that are involved in the festivals examined are neither destructive nor malicious and there is thus no need to protect oneself from them by acts based on these two postulates. The evocation of forces by magic and by religion are carried out on the same basis (fundamental problems, forces and obscure influences). Contact between man and beast and these forces is established either by mediated contact (symbols) or by representation (concrete example, festival of Saint Lazarus). Hence the principle of homogeneity is likewise found here.

796 811 As a result, the thinking which, in the final analysis, determines the festivals examined, proves identical with that which determines the magical practices relating to the problems cited above.

771 811 This similarity is not surprising, for it is basically a question of the same kind of phenomena. Before the Hellenes were Christianized, everything 177 that we have called "myths from which magic drew its inspiration" was part [773] of an earlier religion. Since the objective conditions (state of knowledge, [789] progress of technology necessity of solving vital problems, etc.) were the same when Christianity was introduced, the part of the new religion called upon to intervene in /331/ the solution of the same problems was interpreted and applied according to the same mental process. Thanks to

/321 cont./

771 811 197 this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

5. External and internal causality in the sociological explanation, see R. Bastide in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

789 796 Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

128 Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

* * * *

796 823 479 596 554 Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tséligas and each family head accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence comes all light. The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above

796 788 479 554

/334 cont./

782 77 [779] Be that as it may, these practices presupposing the sacrifice or based on it, reflect beliefs prior to Christianity, They have therefore originated from a process of acculturation, similar to that which we have described in the context of practices of the first category so that we need not go over these again.

771 171 178 Nevertheless, it should not be believed that this is a phenomenon peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Existing studies pertaining to cultural substrata of the Hellenic people show that what is commonly called "folk religion" includes practices and ideas such as those that have just been analyzed. Nearly everywhere folk religion and, in certain cases, even the official church have incorporated what previously existed. However, among the Sarakatsani, survivals are more evident, their meaning is clearer and their significance in the social life of our herders is more pronounced.

/335/ FUNERAL CUSTOMS

761 Toward death the Sarakatsani adopt an attitude full of courage and philosophy. They know that death is an inevitable phenomenon that one must face with dignity.

[844] [538] The old women prepare a bag containing the clothing and shroud in which they will be wrapped. The women about to give birth do the same; they know that childbirth may endanger their lives. According to Madame Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani have an adage, "death follows us everywhere, perched behind our ears." (1)

1. Ibid., A.I., ;.

This certainly does not mean that they are indifferent to death; on the contrary. They are interested in it to such an extent that they envelop death with a layer of manifestations and acts the content of which is based on their organization and their social life, as well as the totality of their anthropological and religious ideas.

/342 cont./

Easter, etc.) a member of the Tséligato, preferably a woman, must go to church, attend mass and represent the group whose constant work prevents the carrying-out of this duty.

/343/ All the decisive moments of life, birth, baptism, marriage, death, represent so many occasions when the presence of a priest is required. Though authors like M. Skafidas (18)

18. Ibid., 1 107.

and Madame Hadjimichali, (19)

Fig. 163

/343 cont./

19. See Ibid., A. I., p. ϡξσ'.

the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tseligas and without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure, so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last sacrements. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge without having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity, the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice! Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:

/344 cont./

771
186
539
177
[764]

--During the burial of a Sarakatsani, his wife, weeping, complained:

Ah! Toward what country will they carry you "the four"
(the bearers of the remains) and this black dog who
barks? (the priest).

--Another time, a bishop visits a Tséligato and is served a meal. He refuses the bread, alleging that the bread is impure since it is prepared by women who are impure! The vexed Sarakatsani decide, without saying anything, to set a trap for him to test /345/ his sincerity. Shortly before his departure, they send onto the road the most beautiful girl of the Tséligato. At the hour of departure the bishop and the deacon who accompanies him mount their horses and set out. When they come to the girl, the bishop, dazzled by her beauty, calls to the deacon: "Get down from your horse, or would it be better if I dismounted? I think it would be better if I did." And, jumping to the ground, tries immediately to seduce the beauty! At this moment the Sarakatsani hiding all around, make their appearance armed with thorny shrubs, throw themselves on the bishop, shouting: "Hypocrite! You do not eat what you call impure bread because it is prepared by impure women! Then isn't it impure to rape young girls?"

771
186
177
829

There is no doubt that these stories reflect the social ideas and social relations developed by the group we are studying and not a hostile or ironic attitude toward religion. People who are constantly struggling hard for their existence connot have a high opinion of individuals who apparently do not struggle, at least as seen from the outside, who earn their living by chanting and from the offerings of the faithful, who speak an esoteric language and who often do not succeed in leading a life in keeping with their teaching and with the things they advocate! The Sarakatsani venerate the priest as a representative or religion, but they criticize the man who hides under his cassock, as do all Hellenes,

/345 cont./

771 186 177 829 [429] who have invented and told similar anecdotes. On the other hand, since the pastures to rent belonged largely to the monasteries, the Sarakatsani found themselves formerly in almost constant antagonism with the clergy against whose demands they were obliged to defend themselves. It is therefore not at all surprising that they have represented them not very flatteringly and caustically.

771 539 177 829 But we should like to cite a third story, this time of another kind and very significant for our point of view.

--One day, a shepherd catches sight of his companions who are about to leave for church in the nearest village to take communion. He turns to them, gives them a vessel used for making yoghurt (a vedhouri) and begs them to ask the priest to fill it with bread and the sacred wine so that he might also take communion, but at home, since his work does not permit him to leave.

Upon their return, the shepherds give him the vedhouri empty, of course, and convey to him the reproaches of the parish priest for his /346/ sacrilege. The next morning, our shepherd goes to the church himself and partakes of communion. Afterwards he puts his crook across his shoulders and tries to go through the door. Of course the crook, very long, hinders him from leaving. The shepherd, pretending to believe that the Holy Virgin is punishing him for his conduct the day before, addresses her and promises that if she will allow him to leave he will make an offering to the church of a goatskin bottle of cheese. But this prayer is ineffective because the crook still remains on the shepherd's shoulders. Then he gets angry, turning around, he strikes with his crook the icon of the Virgin and, crook in hand, leaves the church without hindrance and cries in the most natural way:

You have to frighten the saints and sometimes
even strike the Holy Virgin herself!

/350 cont./

811 and their magic. But we have not examined it systematically. It is
[178] appropriate now to present some of the aspects of their knowledge which have remained in shadow and which, together with what has gone before, will permit a view of the totality of the problem.

* * * *

805 A first category of knowledge deals with the measurement and division of time, by calendar and by the clock.

[179] In a general way the Sarakatsani follow the calendar of surrounding
805 society. However, among them the year is additionally divided into
221 two major periods determined by the seasonal migrations: the period of
233 the "plains" (chimadià) and that of the "mountains" (psilomata). Phases in the life of the livestock likewise determine and characterize certain periods of the year. Thus the Sarakatsani refer to the "time of fecundation" (markalos), the "time of birth" (ghénnos), the "time of milk" (ghàlata--the period when milk is abundant), the "time of shearing" (kouros), the "time of rotation" (arâdhia--the period when milk production has become minimal and when each of the participants of the Tséligato takes turns milking all the ewes for his own use).

805 These divisions of the year, dictated in the end by work, are used along with the divisions into months and weeks. But it is obvious that the first have a "human" depth much more important than the second.

805 The religious holidays also represent some salient points that serve
796 as a pivot for the temporal placement of various events and phases of life. The anniversaries of Saint George and Saint Demetrius, for example, determine respectively the beginning of the period of summer and that of winter.

805 The movements of the sun, the moon and some stars or constellations
821 serve, in turn, as a clock for the Sarakatsani. While during the day the height of the sun in relation to the horizon marks the hours, during

/354 cont./

in their lives. Clever management on the part of the men, especially the heads of families and of the Tséligato, ensures the cohesion of the group and its good functioning.

On all these points, tradition with its models and its precedents offers a solid and permanent support.

From the systematic point of view, all this knowledge is rational, reflective and adequate. But since this /355/ same knowledge must guide action oriented toward men ("we" or "others"), intuition and symbolism, ideology and myth make their appearance and are strongly felt in their hearts.

* * * *

The very fact of the existence of magical manipulations among the Sarakatsani enables us, without resorting to other evaluations, to assess their knowledge of nature, man or animals as limited. Thus a new problem arises, that of the factors that exert an unfavorable influence on knowledge and its development among these herders.

Now, these factors arise from the specific nature of the social framework and the culture of the Sarakatsani. Actually, their social life does not offer any opportunity for knowledge to flower. Among them there are neither groups nor individuals charged or authorized to spend their time advancing it. They do not receive any training in this direction, and they lack educative means. Moreover, they cannot even benefit from the culture of surrounding society because of their migrations and their isolation. Finally, they are hostile to any new idea, presumed dangerous insofar as it lacks the guarantee of experience.

Furthermore, traditional ideas thwart cognitive advance, but from "within" this time. In order for knowledge to be possible, an adequate and preliminary classification of phenomena is indispensable. For it will give birth to concepts and general modes of operation, (5) which

/367 cont./

533 see in this explanation an "ideological" sublimation of suppressed love--a feeling common to human nature and thus not unknown to the Sarakatsani.

[177] All the songs sung on this occasion are not necessarily of Sarakatsani origin; a certain number of them come from general Greek folklore.

533 535 [177] Songs of the non-ritual dance: these songs too are typically not Sarakatsani, like the dances, which are common in the country (Crete and the islands excepted). However, there is a dance known as the "dance of three" which is the Sarakatsani's own and is performed to a Sarakatsani song.

533 461 Songs accompanying some kinds of work: during the seasonal migrations the monotony of the march is often broken by song. The same is true of shearing.

533 461 233 [534] A second "free" artistic manifestation among the Sarakatsani involves tunes played by the shepherds on their flutes during the hours of pasturing--rather sad, tunes drawn-out and full of longing. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3)

3. Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 144-145.

the shepherds themselves say that they reproduce on their flutes the [114] sound of the small bells. We believe that this testimony is musically incorrect. The flocks recognize the sounds of the flute and gather around the shepherd as they gather around the large bell of the ram. It is a matter of conditioning the animals by sounds, a conditioning which, though common to both cases, in no way assumes an artistic ressemblance between one and the other. And if the tunes played /368/ 533 233 on the flute with their cadences and trills often evoke the sounds of the bells of the flocks which, heard from a distance, seem to form musical phrases including cadences and trills, it must nevertheless be

531 /368 cont./
532
114
178 with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the present time.

/369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven
538 motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits. (5)

5. C. Hœg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the
538 entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are
596 invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol
889 the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their
867 descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways
[626] the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

* * * *

53 The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural
[177] borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.

182 /380 cont./
596
[562] even have the right to a dowry. The patrimony of the men and patrilocal families must never be reduced.

All communal life, social as well as economic, presupposes organi-
[474] zation. The Sarakatsani family and, with even better reason, the Tséligato have an organization and a very strong one. This is because struggle and defense, the results of isolation, can be much more effectivly ensured when the group is organized. And economic activity proves more profitable, especially under difficult conditions, when it is supported by beneficial organization. The organization of the Sarakatsani family group presupposes power centralized in the hands of a head entrusted with social and economic authority. It is dictated, first
[233] of all by the technology of herding which requires the shepherds always to live near the livestock and prevents them from being involved in management and community (2)

[224] 2. It is very characteristic that the Sarakatsani are not hunters. "If we take up the gun," they say, "herding will be finished." The livestock have need of constant surveillance.

and family matters. Someone must therefore take charge of them. On the other hand, a central government, so to speak, ensures better functioning
182 of this large group, always in a state of alertness. In the third place,
596 and since no economy is absolutely closed and autarchic, /381/ and that
554 of the Sarakatsani only potentially so, it is very necessary that the in-
197 evitable exchanges (buying and selling of products, location of pastures, etc.) be negotiated by a responsible member of the group. This contact with the outside by a single individual acting as intermediary guarantees isolation. And as for the person of the head man he is either the common ancestor (criterion of kinship) or the most capable of his sons (criterion of effective cooperation).

/387 cont./

121 182 --The fundamental concerns of the Sarakatsani are: to live, first of all, and then to survive materially, socially, culturally and ethnically.

--The objective conditions of their life include: climate, the earth (nature and topography), the fauna and flora, isolation from surrounding society, finally the Greco-Christian tradition, to which the Sarakatsani adhere as a result of their ethnic and religious affiliations.

182 Now, the correlation of all these elements shows that:

[181] --The independence which explains the Sarakatsani's penchant for liberty has led him to abandon his sedentary home in order to avoid slavery. At the same time it has separated him from Hellenic society [177] (and from its fortunes) and the relations he maintains with it are reduced to a strict minimum. It has therefore imposed on him /388/ isolation raised to the level of one of the fundamental conditions of his life.

182 233 --Sheep herding, as the means of acquiring economic goods, represents the only solution that permits him to meet material needs, considering the peculiarities of the climatic and natural environment and the isolation. The latter forces an economy of self-sufficient subsistence that can be realized only by herding. Furthermore, herding, for the same reasons, imposes nomadism.

182 596 --Kinship and the preponderance of men over women, which assumes concrete form chiefly in the quasi-patriarchal extended family, constitute a response to numerous problems. To isolation, first of all, which favors the formation of the extended family, while the family, in turn, guarantees isolation. For the extended family ensures security and the possibility of not mingling with the "others" and consequently safeguarding

/389 cont./

000 182 561 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face 182 596 114 197 critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

182 496 233 Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction having been established and put into practice, every subsequent individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond encourages in its turn.

182 621 496 [181] --Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism. They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

182 773 --Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the myths supplement it."

/401 cont./

society the "injustices and incompatibilities between norms and their realization." according to the formula of Lévi-Strauss, but also the means of overcoming them, and that in a constructive way.

As for the threats against the equilibrium arising from social units other than the family, we should like to emphasize that they are minor. The hostility of Sarakatsani society toward non-conformists exerts sufficient constraint to intimidate those who might possible violate the adopted socio-cultural models, this constraint consolidates both these models and the social equilibrium. Furthermore, since surrounding society is indifferent to the Sarakatsani who themselves insist on preserving their isolation, and does not interfere with their lives, it does not upset the equilibrium nor endanger its continuance. Or rather, that is what went on up to the last decades / "decennies?"/

* * * *

/402/ Nevertheless, other threats arise from one-dimensional elements of Sarakatsani society, and present the possibility of changing the latter.

In fact, if the technology or crafts, the organization of the family and the Tséligato, the economic system, law and morality, knowledge, magic or religion changed, they would bring about changes capable of looseming the general structure from top to bottom, given the close dialectical bonds existing between them.

However, this possibility is slight, for several reasons. First of all, because the change of one of these elements would encounter the resistance of all the others, precisely because of the dialectical link. In the second place, because all these elements are cultural solutions to concrete problems and their effectiveness has been demonstrated by experience. No one would agree to modify them in favor of a non-proven

S 121 178 182 /402 cont./ solution and a possibly disastrous one. Finally, chiefly because all these solutions, as we have already shown, have been applied in terms of the objective conditions of Sarakatsani life. And since these conditions have remained the same throughout time, the solutions - too have spanned centuries and their equilibrium has remained unaltered.

S 121 178 Finally, using Gurvitch's terminology the centripetal forces always prevail over the centrifugal forces. The mechanism of neutralization or threats that we have just analyzed is so strong that no change emanating either from grouped or one-dimensional elements is possible from "within."

S [177] If in our day we see a change happening, it is from the exterior that it arises, from the modification that factors alien to the Sarakatsani world inflict on certain elements "within"--very important points of support of the mechanism in question.

S 121 177 178 It would be very important from various points of view to define the process of change, the causes that have provoked it, the different levels on which it is manifested. We should do so first, in order to corroborate the assertion that the change comes from the outside; then, in order to demonstrate our statements on the decisive influence of certain aspects of Sarakatsani life upon its /403/ creation, its style and its stability; finally, in order to explain the change, we shall now bring out the events that have contributed to it.

S 175 177 121 Gradual liberation of the country.

It was completed in 1920. Surrounding society is no longer dominated by the foreigner and as a result of this fact it ceases to be hostile. It no longer threatens the independence of the Sarakatsani.

G 175 648 922 Emigration of Greeks from Asia Minor.

In 1922 the Greek army evacuated Asia Minor. The Greeks of that

/403 cont./

region, numbering 1,200,000, fled from the atrocities of the Turkish army, left their homes and settled in Greece. Within the context of the measures taken to facilitate their repatriation, the Hellenic government decided upon the expropriation of large landed properties and the distribution of unoccupied land among the refugees. Pastures were thus given over to agriculture and herding was deprived of the means of feeding large flocks. A certain number of Tséligatcs were thus made to disappear.

The last World War and the political evolution of the Balkans.

The Tséligatos that survived the parcelling out of pastureland found as a solution the leasing of pastures in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. But this solution proved impracticable during the second world war and especially after the erection of the "iron curtain." This was the death blow for them. From then on large-scale nomadic sheep herding started to decline very rapidly. At the present writing the number of Tséligatos having "3000 head" of sheep cannot be more than 20 for all of Greece. The participants of the dissolved Tséligatos have been obliged to seek individual solutions.

The administrative reorganization of the Hellenic State.

In 1938 the Government passed a law requiring all nomads of the country who had not done so until then, to be listed in the civil registers of the various municipalities. This measure had several consequences:

a) Subject to compulsory military service, the Sarakatsani came into contact with models and values other /404/ than theirs and, willy-nilly became impregnated with them. You saw Sarakatsani become technicians or car drivers, etc. The illiterates were given rudimentary education in schools for army illiterates. And everybody became acquainted with big

S /404 cont./
177 cities and their life. Some even went abroad (one of our informants
175 served in Korea). It is therefore easy to imagine that upon their return home they became likely agents for changes.

S b) Communal pastures were opened to the Sarakatsani. According
177 to the Greek system of use of national land, each village has meadows
311 for the inhabitants engaged in animal husbandry; they have the exclusive
G use of them and benefit by easy terms. The Sarakatsani took advantage
311 of them. They set up their huts on the edge of villages and thereafter
S [361] practiced transhumance. Moreover, they took part in the life of the community and some were even elected municipal councillors.

S c) In the third place, along with herding they sought supplementary
177 jobs, which they performed in the village. The prospect of profit broke
464 the shackles imposed on the women. They too started to engage in certain
562 occupations (machine knitting, commercial weaving, paid farm work, work in nearby factories, etc.), and to earn money. Thus, the condition of the woman changed completely from one day to the next.

S d) Finally, the Sarakatsani children were compelled to attend school.
177
891

Measures benefitting the "landless."

S The Sarakatsani without real estate, benefitted from these measures.
177 Plots were distributed at the rate of one per conjugal family. The
423 Sarakatsani established themselves on them, and with credit allotted by
[452] state organizations they have begun to build houses and create villages
[233] where they engage both in limited herding and farming.
[241]

Measures benefitting lessees of pastures.

S At the beginning of the second World War the government decreed that
177 all lessees of properties, including pastures, were to remain where they
423 were. Though modified, this /405/ measure is still in force. As a result,
656 all the Sarakatsani profited from it, and from that time have settled on
G leased sites.
656
423

/405 cont./

177 241 233 Finally, socio-economic policy benefitting farmers and herders.

This policy includes:

[452] 1. Financing by the Agricultural Bank of Greece and the granting of raw materials on credit.

[474] 2. The creation and running of cooperatives for buying and selling products.

[746] 3. Agricultural social security.

* * * *

177 This enumeration of the events that form the basis for change, though brief, nevertheless answers the questions posed above.

The assault on the life of the Sarakatsani clearly comes from the outside. It emanates from the surrounding milieu and not from their own milieu, and it can be narrowed to various factors.

The space occupied by the Sarakatsani is conspicuously narrowed. [233] The ecological basis of their society is modified. Physically speaking, [361] isolation in distant regions and nomadic herding become impossible. Moreover, socially speaking, isolation is no longer justified since [641] surrounding society is no longer hostile. The civic rights of Sarakatsani are recognized, protected and respected.

Kinship, cooperation and the community are losing their meaning. [657] Once the state undertakes to finance herding, to ensure education of guarantee security, to exercise foresight to organize cooperation, etc., the omnifunctionalism of the family and the Tséligato no longer has a reason for existing.

Communal patriarchism is likewise shattered. When land is distri- [594] buted to conjugal families, they are established as autonomous economic [425] units. They are thus emancipated. The economic family community gives way to individualism and small-scale individual enterprises.

/405 cont./

177 433 The system of production itself is changing. The Sarakatsani have begun to practice a mixed exploitation (agriculture--small-scale herding, /406/ sedentary or transhumant), and through the role of cooperatives they are turning to a market economy.

177 554 181 Combined with supplementary jobs, the new system changes the roles and status of men and women, hence the family hierarchy and encourages the appearance of new values, chiefly in the matter of social prestige. The ideal symbolic image of the good family father, conservative and prudent, is little by little being replaced by that of the good businesman-entrepeneur.

177 Modern technology thrusts aside traditional knowledge. And the entire cultural system is no longer valid in the presence of the new situation.

Obviously, the mechanism of equilibrium, the guarantor of continuation, resists change. But these means are no longer effective. For the very assumptions of Sarakatsani life, from which this equilibrium drew its strength, have changed. Development of the personality, direct control of behavior, social control in general, obligation-compensation, effectiveness of cultural solutions, etc., have all assumed a different form and a different content.

In the final analysis, it seems that if Sarakatsani society changes, it is because isolation, nomadic herding and the idea of kinship have been affected.

Nevertheless, the transition from the ancient life-style to the new style is not yet entirely accomplished. But it will scarcely be delayed. Meanwhile, psychological processes, social forces and cultural dynamics, creators of the traditional Sarakatsani reality and its equilibrium, face one another in the area of modernization and with modernization. (5)

/406 cont./

177 (114)

5. We may be criticized, and rightly so, for having silently passed over another decisive factor of change in the Sarakatsani type of life. This is "acculturation." We should like to explain that our silence in this matter is due to the fact that we have for several years been preparing a special study on this problem, which will soon appear.

Hence a dramatic struggle of these strained elements toward the quest for a new formula.

/407/

CONCLUSION

Homo Saracatsanus

121 To know the Sarakatsani in his totality and on the basis of his socio-cultural works, this has been the objective we set ourselves in presenting this work. An ambitious goal, to be sure (more especially since the existing scientific means permit only approximations which rest on modest contributions), but a natural result of this anthropological study.

We shall now try to draw the profile of the Sarakatsani, the picture of the man who created the socio-cultural reality that we have analyzed and who, in turn, has been created by his own creations. In order to do this we shall turn to what is original and distinctive in him. This picture we have called homo saracatsanus, even though current terminology designates with similar words entire species and not simply variants. May we be pardoned for the heresy in the name of the evocative power of the formula.

We shall not go back to the works of the Sarakatsani in order not to repeat ourselves. We shall consider this dimension of our present problem as known. We shall proceed from another dimension which we shall call "Sarakatsani Anthropology" and which we can circumscribe in a formula that will at the same time outline the plan of our account.